

24 "THE MAIL" ON THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

Tory attempts to Create a War of Race and Religion.

PERHAPS the most dangerous and reckless proceeding ever undertaken by a political party is that inaugurated by *The Toronto Mail* and followed up by *Hon. Thomas White, Mr. Dalton McCarthy, Mr. Alfred Boulbee* and others during the Haldimand election contest. In order to *distract public attention from the true issues of the campaign* these gentlemen endeavored to excite a *war of race and religion* by appealing to the presumed prejudices of their Protestant hearers.

There was no cause for these *indecent and incendiary attacks* on the faith and nationality of large classes of the Canadian people, except that the Tories hoped by them to win enough Protestant votes to offset their losses in other directions. Their conduct is without excuse, as it is without parallel. Should they succeed, for *The Mail* continues its seditious course, *nothing but misery and ruin must be the result.*

Herewith are given a number of extracts to show the diabolical character of this new Tory crusade, which is being conducted with the approval of Sir John Macdonald, and which must, if not sternly rebuked, bring disaster on the material and social interests of *Protestants as well as Catholics.*

It is necessary for a clear understanding of this subject to point out that the outrageous attacks on Catholics and the Catholic Church were not begun till after the Tories became convinced that they had lost their hold on the Catholic people, French and Irish, through their **tyrannical treatment of the Halfbreeds and their hostility to Home Rule.** These causes of defection from the Tory party were purely secular. The Catholic Church had nothing to do with them. The only Catholic ecclesiastics who raised their voices in the dispute were Bishop Gravel and Father Dowd, of Montreal, and both his Lordship and his Reverence took strong ground on the Tory side, and condemned the Riel agitation. *Hon. Mr. Bowell* showed his appreciation of Father Dowd's action by calling upon him and thanking him.

It will thus be seen that the onslaught of *The Mail*, under Sir John Macdonald's inspiration, on the Catholic Church and people was *purely gratuitous*, and conceived with the sole object of securing a further lease of power for the Tory party by raising a *war of race and religion.* By taking this course it was

also hoped that the noise and dust thus created would *distract the public mind*, and draw attention away from the *disgraceful, corrupt and extravagant record of the Tory Government*.

These attacks began immediately after the execution of Louis Riel, when the great meeting was held at Montreal to condemn the execution as cruel and unjustifiable. Sir John Macdonald, *so long as he had the support of the French*, never saw anything wrong or dangerous in the Catholic Church. Quite the contrary, *he and his organs were constant and fulsome in their adulation*. But the moment he found the French had deserted him he turned upon them and the Church with all the venom and ferocity of an implacable bigot. *It was the same with the Irish*, when he discovered they condemned his miserable, paltring, but vindictive opposition to Home Rule.

To publish all *The Mail* has said of insult, contumely, incendiary appeals, inflammatory and lying despatches would fill a large book. One must be content with a series of extracts.

The first signal of the new crusade was *The Mail's* threat to "*smash Confederation into its original fragments*," should the people of Quebec persist in their condemnation of Sir John Macdonald's Government. Furthermore, *The Mail* declared that, if necessary, Quebec would be *reconquered, and its treaty rights, relating to language, laws and religion, swept away*. These threats naturally aroused a feeling of intense indignation. There was every indication of a war of races, when the Liberal party declared, through its press, that the crisis could only be overcome by the removal of Sir John Macdonald and the men who had created all the trouble by misgovernment, from the control of the affairs of the country. The issue between parties is, therefore, with the Liberals: UNION, PEACE, TOLERATION; with the Tories: *permanent antagonism between the two peoples and disruption of Confederation*.

The Mail began by deprecating the importation of the question of religion into the dispute, although it had more than once on previous occasions assailed the Church in Ontario and Quebec. But about the close of the year 1885 it came out boldly as the avowed enemy of everything Catholic. On the 7th December, 1885, it opened the attack with a long article detailing the treaty and legal status of the French in Quebec, and representing the Church as *an odious, grinding tyranny*.

This article sets forth what it styled "the great and exceptionable privileges enjoyed by the Catholic Church in Quebec," and refer three to the rights enjoyed by the French people under the treaty of capitulation and subsequent legislation. Some of the rights enjoyed by the Catholic Church, and condemned by *The Mail*, were as follows:—

"The Roman Catholic Church, the Church of the French-Canadian people, was established by the British Government in the possession of the full, free and unhindered exercise of her religion.

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"The Church enjoys greater freedom under Canadian law than she possessed under the old French régime. For whilst the names of new bishops had to be submitted for approval to the French King-in-Council, the Church now appoints them without any dictation or interference whatsoever from the British or Canadian authorities.

"The Church enjoys greater freedom under Canadian law than she possesses in any civilized country in the world,—Spain not excepted. Thus, the supremacy of ecclesiastical law in Quebec is tacitly recognized even where that law encroaches upon civil rights and conflicts with the law of the State."

Commenting on these conditions *The Mail*, in concluding the article, makes use of a covert threat in these words :—

"The French-Canadians must feel that they are a people blessed above all other beaten races. On the principle of doing as they are done by, they ought at least to recognize by prompt obedience to the English law the heaping measure of freedom and favor with which that law endows them. And, to come down to grosser considerations, self-interest must tell them that it is only by being just that they can expect us to continue to be generous."

On June 10th, 1886, *The Mail* contained a letter and an editorial attacking the Ontario Government for granting aid to Catholic charitable institutions. The editorial declares :—

"Mr. Fraser provides too generously for his co-religionists, and that a considerable proportion of the money voted to their institutions goes in reality to support the religious orders in charge of them. His Grace,* who is virtually a member without portfolio of the Mowat Administration, considers it his duty to get all he can in return for his political influence; but it will be very generally admitted that in this particular matter, as in several others he is exacting altogether too much."

August 3rd *The Mail* produced a violent attack on its old friends and supporters the Castor Conservatives, who for years had been the political allies of the Tory party. The organ delivered itself in the following inflammatory manner.

"The Jesuits attempted some time ago to obtain control of higher education in the province. * * * * Although beaten for the time being, the Ultramontanes are confident of victory in the end. * * * * Their politico-religious opinions are drawn from the Syllabus. * * * * One of the many far-reaching corollaries of this creed is that the priest has not only the right, but is in a measure bound to interfere in elections, for he is the representative of God and the Church, and as such is profoundly concerned in the well-being of the community, upon which, of course, politics and legislation have a constant direct bearing. The Ultramontane, in fact, aims at the complete subjugation of State to Church, and is intent upon the eradication from society of the errors defined in the Syllabus, freedom of speech, freedom of the intellect and the toleration of heresy being amongst them. Ultramontanism, in short, is the repeal of the hard-won charter of human liberty."

On the 12th August *The Mail* contained an article in which the action of the Catholic people of Quebec was depicted in a most incendiary manner. It concluded with the following attempt to stir up the fires of religious bigotry :—

"The dream of founding a French-Canadian and Roman Catholic monopoly in the North-West has been shattered, and the Church must, therefore, make herself all the more secure in Quebec, by extending her own powers, and by shorten-

* Archbishop Lynch.

ing the arm of the civil law wheresoever it tends to repress ecclesiastical authority. The English minority knows only too well what these Ultramontane appeals mean and what an Ultramontane triumph would entail upon them. Father Braun, the Montreal Jesuit, whose writings are accepted as of the highest orthodoxy by Senator Trudel and the other lay leaders of Ultramontanism, has left no room for doubt upon that point. "Protestantism," says that Jesuit in his work on the marriage laws, "Protestantism is not a religion; it is rebellion in triumph, error in action; therefore it has no rights, but is simply a crime, to be dealt with as a crime."

August 17th, 1886. On this day there appeared in *The Mail* a most inflammatory editorial. The whole article, if acted upon by the Protestant people, would plunge the country into a suicidal, desolating conflict. It runs as follows:—

"The Church's trump card was her well-calculated loyalty. She kept the *habitant* quiet during the American revolution and during the war of 1812, and even put him into the field on the British side, for which he fought with all the dash and gallantry of his race. Whenever she sought to make a fresh inroad upon the rights of her subjects or desired a fuller recognition by the Crown of her mediaeval claims and assumptions, she hastened to remind British Ministers that she had twice saved Canada to Britain, and out of sheer gratitude they yielded. **In this way the Church secured absolute control of the French population in temporal no less than in spiritual affairs, and was enabled to invade and overrun the English settlements,** upon whose expansion the British Government had relied for what Sir James Craig called the Anglicization of the colony. The result, stated in a word, is that the English population is rapidly being extinguished in the English counties, whilst the French population is becoming more and more French and anti-British. The Legislature is in reality the Church under another name, one-sixth of the annual revenues of the province being directly or indirectly absorbed by her, and the legislative power being, virtually exercised by her bishops, who make and unmake the so-called representatives of the people as easily as churchwardens. The system of tithes, which was extended to the English settlements forty years ago, and the *modus operandi*, **tends to eliminate the Protestant settler by making it to the priest's interest to secure the soil for the tithe-paying habitant, even if it be necessary for the Church out of her vast untaxed revenues to advance the purchase money.** The Legislature, also, under pretence of colonizing the province, applies large sums every year to the planting of *habitants* on the wild lands in the English districts; and in a very short space of time **so remarkable is the fecundity of the race,** Jean Baptiste is able to outvote the English settler, to obtain control of the collection and expenditure of taxes within the municipality, to starve his neighbor out by refusing him appropriations for roads and schools, whilst assessing him for all he can bear, and in the end to obtain complete possession of the settlement. Under these circumstances, with the Church supreme in the Legislature and in the municipal council, and employing all her machinery and resources against him, the Anglo-Saxon farmer is utterly beleaguered, and his final capitulation is merely a question of time. Given a fair field and no favor, and he could have held his own even against the fruitful *habitant*; but, as it is, he is taxed to death in order to provide the means for accomplishing his own extinction, and finds himself, in a British colony, subjected to a foreign despotism which by hook or by crook has obtained not only the sanction but the mastery of British law.

"The Riel agitation has brought matters to a head. The English farmers have held on to their land, though many of their number have retired beaten, in

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the hope that **some day the English majority in the other provinces may come to the rescue.** They do not ask for favors. They do not wish to deprive the French-Canadians of the smallest fraction of religious liberty. **They simply beg that the Church may be disestablished, or at all events stripped of some of those exorbitant privileges which are incompatible with popular freedom and progress ; that the Legislature may be restrained from voting the public taxes by wholesale for sectarian purposes ; in a word, they ask that the State should occupy the position and discharge the functions which have been seized and usurped by an aggressive and rapacious ecclesiasticism.** For these reforms they look to their kinsmen of British blood in Ontario and elsewhere, and they are watching our action with respect to the Riel matter with the keenest and the most profound attention.

"It is true that by merely overthrowing the Rielites we cannot hope to solve the complex and truly appalling problem presented by the presence in this small Anglo-Saxon community of a million and a quarter of people, who repudiate our language, and who pride themselves upon **belonging to a different race, and upon cherishing different institutions.** But if we succeed on this occasion in defeating the arrogant claim that Canadian law should not prevail against a French-Canadian criminal when he happens to represent the 'national' idea, the French may begin to realize that they have gone far enough, and that we are not in a mood to permit the further effacement of English rights and English interests in that province. Such at any rate is the view of the English minority, and we commend it to the attention of their kith and kin in Ontario."

A two-column article appeared in *The Mail* of August 23rd, entitled "The English Minority in Quebec," calculated to excite Protestant feeling, and evidently intended to provoke sectarian strife. From that article the following extracts are taken :—

"Is a State Church, such as that which exists in England, an injustice to the Nonconformist minority? If so, it is evident that the presence in Quebec of a Church which, instead of being the mere ally or servant of the State, completely dominates the State and controls it in the exercise of its most important functions, must à fortiori be injurious to the Protestant minority in that province. That Church is propped and buttressed by many hoary Acts—by the Articles of Capitulation, by the Treaty of 1763, by the Quebec Act, by the ordinances of the Quebec Council created by that instrument, etc.; and is without doubt the most unique and the most oppressive institution of its kind on the face of the earth. Furthermore, the whole civil code of the Province of Quebec is based upon the principle that the ecclesiastical is above the civil law.

"The tentacles of the Church are felt by the English settler in all things, great and small. Thus no less than one-sixth of the annual revenue of the province passes directly or indirectly into her coffers. The public chest is drawn upon for her grand ecclesiastical ceremonies, such as the installation of a Cardinal, and she invades the domain of municipal government as well as the halls of the Legislature.

"Again, in the field of education, the Church, through her omnipotence in the Legislature, is able to make life unpleasant for the Protestant parent. * * * But, aside from her allegiance to a foreign potentate, the Church, as we have said, is paramount in Quebec. She evades the law of mortmain and owns real estate (that goes untaxed), valued by one of her own witnesses at forty millions of dollars, but probably worth sixty or seventy millions; she is empowered by law

to collect every twenty-sixth bushel from her own people, and has thus a direct pecuniary interest in clearing the soil of heretics; she makes and unmakes the Legislature which is supposed to protect the rights of the minority; she virtually controls the municipal system; she applies the provincial revenues to her own ends almost at will; and, as we have seen, she ignores and overrides Canadian law wherever it comes in conflict with the mass of canonical and ecclesiastical legislation, dating from the Council of Trent, to which she subjects her children quite regardless of the fact that this is a British Colony.

"In short, the overshadowing power of the Church confronts and oppresses the English settler at every turn. The only authority to which she is amenable is the Roman Court, where he has no friends. She sometimes compels the Legislature formally to acknowledge the supremacy of the Vatican."

Again on the 21st September, *The Mail* made a furious onslaught on the Catholic Church. After pretending to picture the wretched condition of the Catholics in Quebec, it went on to say:—

"If it be asked, what have the English provinces to do with the Church and the *habitant*, the answer is that the condition of Quebec, as a component part of the Dominion, is of vital consequence to the whole. What have England, Wales and Scotland to do with Ireland? Moreover the *habitant* is not the only person affected. The English inhabitants of Quebec, numbering a quarter of a million, have, or are supposed to have, some rights as British subjects, but the universal testimony of the British population in the rural districts is that the indirect effects of the tithing and parish systems, with the constant interference of the Church in civil affairs and her virtual independence of the civil authority, combine to make life well-nigh intolerable."

The Mail, September 28th, contained an article designed to show that both parties in Quebec were the slaves of the Church. It was entitled "The Scene in Quebec":—

"In every country where popular institutions exist, elections are decided by an appeal to the judgment of the people. But in the Province of Quebec the appeal is made to the Church, the arbitress of all things. The contest now in progress there furnishes a truly remarkable spectacle for the Nineteenth Century.

"If the reader will bear in mind that Dominion as well as Provincial elections in Quebec are invariably conducted upon just such lines as these—the Church, not the people, being the ultimate court of appeal—he will probably agree with us that it is a little premature to speak of Canada as a free country."

October 4th, *The Mail* continued its assaults, saying:—

"If it be true, as Rev. Principal McVicar and others allege, that the Church draws ten million dollars a year in the shape of tithes, forced assessments and dues from the million and a quarter of peasant farmers there, not to count the direct loss they sustain through the exemption of her vast estates from municipal taxation, we need go no further for proof that in Quebec as elsewhere 'privilege is poverty.' But the sums mentioned, representing an annual levy of eight dollars per head of the French population of Quebec, are believed to be well within the mark; and if this be so, have we not here a cause amply sufficient to account for the backwardness of the province and for the lack of enterprise and public spirit that characterizes its people? The injury sustained by them in other ways—through the antiquated system of education imposed upon them by the Church, through the application to all things civil of the doctrine that the State cannot circumscribe her functions, and through the

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employment of the spiritual pressure necessary to compel the *habitant* to submit to those manifest hindrances to his material, moral and intellectual advancement—the loss under this head cannot be computed, but who can deny its importance?

"Is it nothing to the Dominion that the second Province in it is impoverished by the presence of mediævalism? **Shall we pay no heed to the cry of the Protestant minority, whose interests are imperilled?** Is it of no moment to us that Federal legislation should be impeded, the Federal treasury from time to time raided, and equal government throughout the Dominion rendered well-nigh impossible in consequence of the privileges, immunities and usurpations exercised and enjoyed under the protection of our law by a Church that is seeking to build up, *not a British, but a French community?*"

Oct. 5th, 1886.—The *Mail* advocated the curtailment of Church contributions in an article of tedious length from which the following extract is taken:—

"In fact we think we are justified in saying that these imposts account in great part for the backwardness of the province; for the chronic emptiness of the provincial treasury, which has to build railroads through impoverished districts without much municipal aid; and therefore for the raids made from time to time upon the Federal exchequer by the Quebec contingent at Ottawa. All human experience teaches that such mediæval privileges as the Church in Quebec enjoys in the domains of legislation and education are a hindrance to the moral and intellectual, as well as to the material advancement of a people."

Oct. 7th, 1886, the *Mail* made another attempt to stir up ill-feeling against the church, as will be seen by the following extract:—

"The opening up of the northern portion of the province will enrich the whole. But it will be decidedly awkward if the Church, in planting *Nos institutions, notre langue et nos loix* in Upper Canada, should impose the tithe system upon us. It must be borne in mind that she has always insisted upon her right to collect tithes from Roman Catholic settlers in Upper Canada; in fact, as late as 1839 she argued the question with the Imperial and Canadian Governments, and demanded compensation from the latter for her forbearance in not enforcing her right. The claim still stands, and we may be sure she would not hesitate to press it if a favorable combination of circumstances presented itself."

"Oct. 7th, 1886.—The following appeared in a *Mail* editorial:—

"Patriotism in Canada there is next to none, for we all feel insecure. Of homogeneity or of a tendency to it, there is absolutely no sign. In Quebec the favoured Church is establishing a nationality of her own; and in this province Archbishop LYNCH, in the name of "our people," as he styles his subjects, makes compacts with the Protestant politicians, and from time to time establishes a *modus vivendi* with them **just as though the Irish Catholic population were a foreign element that had gained a temporary lodgment here by force of arms.**"

Oct. 11th.—The *Mail* again assailed the Church thus:—

"The law provides penalties against the use of undue clerical influence, but they are a dead letter. No Roman Catholic judge cares to enforce them, whilst the layman who drags a priest before the civil tribunals is liable, under the canon law, to excommunication."

The system derives strength from the sinister use the Church makes of it. She is able without much trouble to show the *habitant* that only by submitting himself blindly to her rule and enabling her to employ his representatives as pawns in the game of politics, can he and she hope to retain the balance of power

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her to place a representative upon the High school boards, no other religious denomination enjoying the privilege; which imposes the cost of Separate school inspection in cities and towns upon the State, whilst the inspection of Public schools similarly situated is made a charge upon the local ratepayers; which permits her to hold school property in her own name, instead of vesting it in the Separate school boards; which, albeit her schools, like the Public schools, receive State aid, grants her the right, free from any State inspection or interference, to **poison the minds of the children against British institutions** by means of anti-British compilations of history; and which even gives her hierarchy a potent voice in the selection of books for the Public schools, and in the mode of treating and teaching the Protestant Bible. In another sphere of local government she has managed to throw upon the State the support of her religious orders to some extent, the Roman Catholic institutions conducted by those orders receiving from the Provincial Treasury last year no less than \$34,000, or 60 per cent. of the total sum devoted to sectarian charities of every class. **To go no further, her ability to sell and deliver her corporate vote, and the eagerness of politicians on both sides to buy it, enable her to obtain special and distinctive representation in the Dominion and Provincial Cabinets, and to place her chosen vessels in the public service, not always because they are fit, but simply because they are Catholics.**

The Mail, November 8th, 1886:—

"But just now the Rouges are as subservient to the Church as the Bleus; indeed, **the Ultramontanes are at present on Mr. Mercier's side.**

"The movement of the hierarchy in Quebec in the direction of the more complete clericalization of the school laws has its counterpart in this Province, where his Grace the Archbishop has secured a sweeping organic change in the Separate School law, enabling him to compel Roman Catholic parents to send their children to the Separate Schools under pain of spiritual condemnation; and has made arrangements with the Mowat Government, by which he enjoys a voice in the selection of books for the Public Schools, from English history to the mode of treating and teaching the Protestant Bible.

"In Quebec, as we see, Cardinal Taschereau is taking advantage of a political deadlock to obtain a fuller recognition of the supremacy of the Church in the priest-ridden Province; whilst in Ontario, Archbishop Lynch is securing concessions and privileges of a cognate kind in return for the corporate vote of the Church, which Mr. Fraser was commissioned to dispose of. We do not think we are far wrong in ascribing the existence of the remarkable Roman Catholic agitation now convulsing Canadian politics, Provincial and Federal, and manifesting itself under a variety of forms, from the Riel movement to the combined attack on the schools, to the orders issued to the hierarchy and laity in the Encyclical of 1885."

The Mail, November 15th, 1886, attacks the Catholic Church thus:—

"The immemorial policy of the Church is to get all she can and give nothing; this Province she barter her corporate vote to the Reform and Tory politicians for what it will fetch in the shape of encroachments upon the freedom of the individual or upon the functions of the State. **The sale of the Catholic vote** for years been one of the most humiliating and at the same time one of the most dangerous and demoralizing features of Federal and Provincial politics.

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"That Archbishop Lynch controls the Mowat Cabinet everybody has long known; but that Mr. Mowat should have permitted his Grace to violate the Separate School compact, to override the civil rights of Roman Catholic parents and children, and even, as we have seen, to cast the drag-net about Protestant

owners of property, is a revelation for which we were not altogether prepared. These amendments must be repealed, and the Separate School law, if it cannot be wholly abolished, restored to its original form, before we can boast that Ontario is a free country."

October 13th, 1886, *The Mail* published an inflammatory editorial to rouse the fears of the Protestants of Ontario on account of the settlement of French Canadians in Ontario. It wound up with these words:—

"*Le Cultivateur*, a Quebec paper which devotes special attention to the subject, boasts that in twenty years there will be half a million French Canadians in Northern Ontario, and that, as a consequence, "the balance of power will be safe." This is probably an exaggerated estimate, but it is well that the English inhabitants of Ontario should know what is contemplated. Should the Church introduce the tithe system in the French districts in Eastern and Northern Ontario—and, as was stated the other day, she has always maintained that she is entitled by law to take tithes from Roman Catholics in Upper Canada—her position in this Province will be greatly strengthened, and **we shall experience in our own persons the peculiar process, vulgarly known as 'freeze-out,' which is depopulating the English settlements in Quebec.** The wonderful fecundity and cohesiveness of the French Canadian race and its **entire subjection to the Church, whose bottle-holding is always judicious, make Jean Baptiste a formidable competitor for the soil of a new country."**

The course pursued by *The Mail* to excite the people of Ontario against the French Canadians is well illustrated in the annexed extract. The constant effort throughout was to implant the idea that the English Protestants of Quebec were being oppressed and driven out of the Province:—

"The fact is the English minority has been compelled by the very nature of the agitation set on foot in Quebec to coalesce for the preservation of its existence. They know right well that the ferocious onslaughts made upon the *Orangistes* are in reality intended for the whole English-speaking population of Quebec and Ontario, and that the impeachment of the Dominion Cabinet for having allowed the law to take its course in the case of Riel is nothing more or less than **an uprising on the part of French Canadian nativism and intolerance against the supremacy of British institutions."**

Said Mr. Dalton McCarthy in his efforts to fire the hearts of the electors of Haldimand:—

"Therefore, it is now for the English Province of Ontario—and you, the members of Haldimand, are the representatives of that Province in this election—to speak out plainly, clearly and decisively and by your vote at the coming election say—while you have no wish to fight with the Frenchmen; while you desire that every man in Canada, regardless of nationality, shall have fair play—you will not submit to seeing this great Dominion turned into a French province—you do not want to see this country governed by the French, simply because the law was meted out equitably to one of their people."

Speaking on behalf of Mr. Merritt, the Tory candidate in Haldimand, Mr. Boulton said:—

"In Quebec the Protestants are under the iron heel of Roman Catholic priestly oppression, and the material prosperity of the Province is being seriously retarded. The public funds are being used to endow the Church, to pay for religious celebrations, and to foot the bills for the installation of Cardinals. The English-speaking

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Protestant population there are now appealing to their kith and kin in this Province to come to their rescue."

In its issue of August 21st, 1886, *The Mail* threatened again to overwhelm Quebec with invasion from the east and west in the following style:—

"They (the people of Quebec) may depend upon it that a Macedonian cry from the eastern townships would elicit a vigorous response from the three million English-speaking Canadians to the east and west of Quebec. And then what? The result, we need hardly say, would be felt by every interest in Canada. All the efforts put forth by Cartier and others to establish concord and harmony would be, in great measure, undone, and the work of building an united country out of two separate and distinct peoples thrown back indefinitely."

The article from which the above extract is taken is a sort of general summing up of the series of attacks it had been making for months on the Catholic Church. It pictures the Church as injurious to the Protestant minority in Quebec; that it is the "most unique and most oppressive institution of its kind on the face of the earth;" that it compels the State to recognize the supremacy of its ecclesiastical and canonical codes; that it "interdicts the operation of the civil law under pains and penalties deemed worse than a death;" that Quebec, under the Church's rule, is so much worse than other countries that "even in Spain and Belgium the wreaking of clerical vengeance upon the dead is made a criminal offence;" that the Church wholly disregards the Dominion election law prohibiting undue clerical influence in election contests; that "the whole civil code of Quebec is based upon the principle that the ecclesiastical law is above the civil law;" and, generally speaking, it denounces the Church in the most unsparing manner.

Commenting on this article the *Montreal Herald* of August 25th, 1886, observes:—

"Now, as a matter of fact, there is nothing in the position of the Roman Catholic Church in this Province that has not been known to the *Toronto Mail* since the Dominion Government as long as they have had an existence. More over, the Church or its priests interfered in elections in the past, their interference for the benefit of the Conservative party. If there has been a union of ecclesiastical and political forces it has been to keep Sir John Macdonald in power and return him to power. For whatever increase of influence or power, through legislative action, the Church has secured, the Protestants of Quebec must thank the party of which *The Mail* is an organ, the party in Quebec supporting Sir John Macdonald, as that party has been in the ascendant in the Quebec Legislature most continuously for the past thirty years. * * * Now if there is to be a religious war proclaimed by *The Mail*, if the Government party are going to make it their card for the Dominion elections, if the country is to be convulsed, if not chained, by a sectarian struggle of which no one can predict the end, it is due to us why they do it. * * * The Government newspaper organs in Quebec no longer keep silence. They cannot take advantage of these attempts to arouse Protestant feeling in Ontario and at the same time claim the allegiance of the Roman Catholic Church in Quebec—this would be altogether too monstrous, outrageous and indecent. They will, of course, be asked to explain why they have thus far sanctioned what, without explanation, looks like a gross and wicked attempt to precipitate a religious war for purely partisan ends. *The Mail*, in the past, has stopped at nothing in its partisan zeal. It has defended the most corrupt proceedings of its government friends. It has sworn that white

was black and black white. All its movements are inspired by party interests. The public good was a secondary consideration altogether, and it laughed at every appeal to reason or fair play, apart from the advancement of its party's and the Government's aims."

On December 1st, 1886, *The Mail* made another grossly insulting attack. It said:—

"The principle which we are here condemning is not only unfair to Roman Catholics, who may be seeking the light, but to Protestant children and parents and to the cause of truth by whatsoever name it may be called. For if this text-book is to be thrown out of the public schools, and that text-book diluted in order to suit the Roman Catholic Church * * * where is the process of adulteration and interdiction to end? Why not amend the Public school teaching regarding loyalty to the Crown so-as to interject a word in behalf of the Papal claim to universal sovereignty as laid down in the famous bull *Unam Sanctam*, which asserts that 'every human creature, by reason of sin, is subject to the Pope'? Or why not readjust the account of the Reformation, and hold up, deftly of course, the impiety of private judgment? Or why not amend the public school version of a certain event in France, to make it conform to the delicate theory that the Huguenots were the victims of God's wrath?"

Such is the course pursued, the policy adopted by the Tory party. Can any sane man regard it otherwise than brutally revolutionary? Its aim is to create a war of religion and race, that the party of Boodlers, led by Sir John Macdonald, may fiddle while Rome is burning.

A convention of the Conservative party was held at Toronto, commencing on the 14th January, 1878. At the close of the proceedings, on the 16th of the same month, a series of resolutions were adopted. These were embodied in the leading editorial of the *Mail*, January 17th, which concluded as follows:—

"The convention was also good enough to pass the following resolution, amid some warmth of demonstration. Our grateful thanks are hereby tendered to the gentlemen of the convention; and we add to our experience of them the assurance of our intention to make this journal at least no less worthy of the party and the cause with which it is identified, than it has been heretofore:—

"That the thanks of the Liberal Conservative party are due to *The Mail* newspaper for its consistent advocacy of conservative principles; and that this convention desires to express full confidence in its present management, and a hope for its future success."

Note.—The same parties and persons who controlled and directed "*The Mail*" in 1878, control and direct it in 1887. It is still the chief organ of the Tory party, and the same managing director maintains his intimate, personal, and political relations with Sir John Macdonald and Mr. W. R. Meredith.

Mr. Meredith's address to the electors of London is a distinct echo of the platform laid down by *The Mail*. The *Toronto World*, an independent paper, frankly accepts Mr. Meredith's policy as identical with that promulgated by *The Mail*. Here is what it says:—"Mr. Meredith's address distinctly accentuates the change of platform lately made by the Conservative party. It is no longer a journal which speaks, it is the Conservative leader in the Assembly. Those who have believed that the recent change in *The Mail* was a mere party dodge, to be reversed after the elections, must now be convinced that the New Conservative policy has come to stay."